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HAGGARD, ALFRED H.

TITLE:

THE SORROWS OF
HUMANITY

PLACE:

LONDON

DATE:

1901

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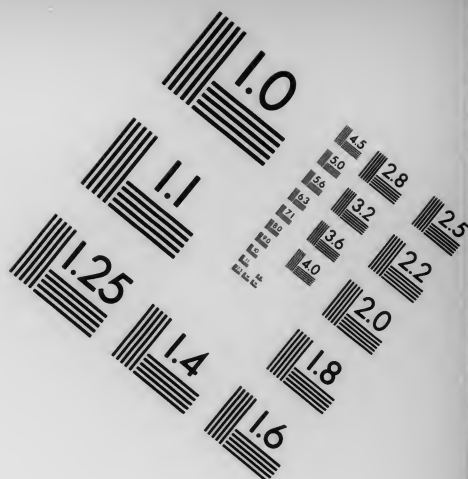
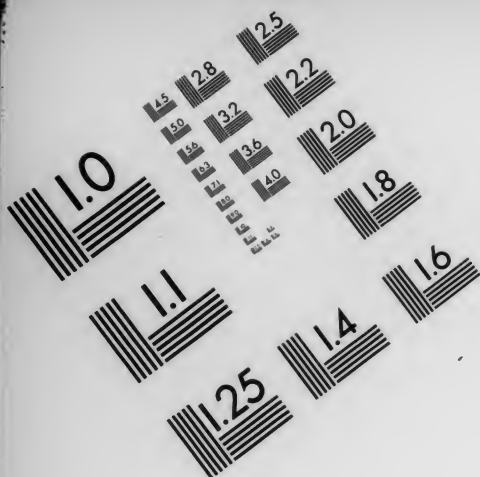
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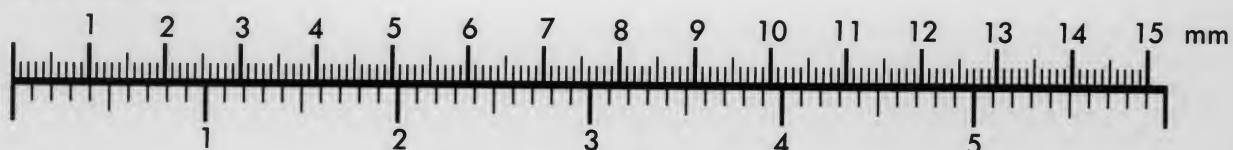
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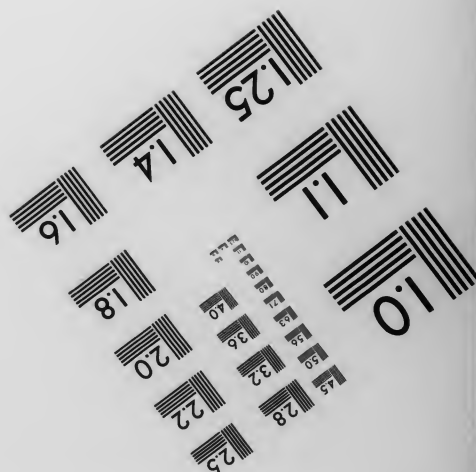
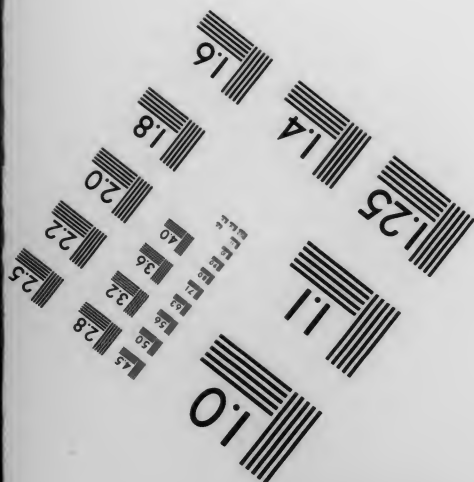
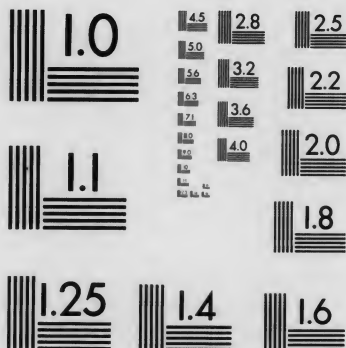
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RELIGION OF HUMANITY.

THE ANNUAL ADDRESS

AT THE

CHURCH OF HUMANITY,

[19 CHAPEL STREET, LAMB'S CONDUIT STREET, LONDON, W.C.]

ON THE

FESTIVAL OF HUMANITY,

1 MOSES, 47 (1 JANUARY, 1901.)

BY

ALFRED H. HAGGARD.

THE SORROWS OF HUMANITY.

LOVE FOR PRINCIPLE

AND ORDER FOR BASIS;—

PROGRESS FOR END.

LIVE FOR OTHERS—LIVE OPENLY.

"The disease of the West calls for a treatment more addressed to the affections than to the intellect, now that the intellect has accomplished its main function by its construction of the positive philosophy as a result of the creation of sociology, which has for its substruction the body of the preliminary sciences. At the outset, Positivists had to ascend from faith to love, but henceforward they should give the preference to the more rapid and effective method which leads downward from love to faith. The feelings are less disturbed than the intelligence; it is mainly therefore on the feelings that will depend the re-establishment of order in the West. The heart alone is competent to complete and consolidate the convictions which have their source in the intellect, and the heart can in many respects even dispense with such convictions,—at any rate so far as regards that general support which every great construction requires."—AUGUSTE COMTE (*Sixth Circular*.)

SOLD AT THE CHURCH OF HUMANITY,
19 CHAPEL STREET, LAMB'S CONDUIT STREET, W.C.

—
1901.

[THREEPENCE.]

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[THREEPENCE.]

RELIGION OF HUMANITY.

WITH all centres of our faith wheresoever they exist ; with all its scattered disciples ; with the members of all other religious organisations or beliefs, Monotheist, Polytheist, or Fetichist, all lesser distinctions being absorbed in the one bond of community of religious aim ; with the whole human race—with man, that is, wherever found and in whatever condition, again all lesser distinctions being absorbed in the one bond of our common humanity ; and with the animal races which, during the long effort of man to raise himself, have been, as they still are, his companions and helpers, we on this occasion, on this Festival of Humanity, would be in conscious sympathy.

Nor with our contemporaries alone are we in sympathy, but even more with the larger portion of the race which constitutes the Past. We gratefully commemorate the services of all the generations whose labours we inherit and wish to hand down with increase to our successors. We acknowledge the sway of the Dead.

We gratefully commemorate also the services of our common Mother, the Earth, the Planet which is our home, and with her the orbs which form the Solar System, our World. We may not separate from this last commemoration that of the milieu in which we place that System, the Space which has ever been of great service to Man, and is destined to be of greater by his wise use, as it becomes the recognised seat of abstraction, the seat of the higher laws which collectively constitute the Destiny of Man, and is introduced as such in all our intellectual and moral training.

From the Present and the Past we extend our sympathies to the Future, to the unborn generations which with happier lot shall follow us on this earth ; the thought of whom should be constantly present to our minds, in order to complete the conception of Humanity, as revealed to man by the Founder of our

Religion, by the full recognition of the continuity which is Her noble characteristic. The memory of Her greatest servant, AUGUSTÉ COMTE, and with it the memory of his three GUARDIAN ANGELS, find a fitting place in this, Her greatest Festival, consecrated as it is by its very idea to the remembrance of all Her servants, known or nameless—to the remembrance of all the results they have achieved and by which they live.

Wisest and noblest of teachers! May all of us who avow ourselves thy disciples, animated by thy example, supported by thy doctrine, guided by thy construction, face all the obstacles which indifference or hostility throws in our way, and in the midst of this revolutionary age, undebased by any hope of reward, undeterred by any ill success of our efforts, in a spirit of submissive veneration carry forward the great work to which thy life was devoted—the work of human regeneration by and through the systematic Worship of Humanity.

THE ANNUAL ADDRESS.

A DISTINGUISHED statesman of the day, well known for his high personal character and his rather vague metaphysical opinions, in a speech he delivered lately, professed himself, if I remember rightly, to be unable to attach any distinctive character to the century which has just ended. Perhaps a person of more definite views might have found less difficulty in such a characterisation. The century might have been considered according to the personality of the speaker as the century of industry, or of science, or of poetry, or of art, or of colonization, or of scepticism, or even as the age of oppression of weaker peoples. Everything is coloured by our individual views, proclivities or bias. Each system of philosophy is generally little more than the way which each philosopher has of looking at things. But whatever difficulties other people may have, we at least who worship here can have none in characterising the exceptional century by two unparalleled facts in the history of mankind: first by the institution of the Religion of Humanity based on the invariable laws of Nature in their relation to Man; and, secondly, by the definite advent to political power of the working classes, accompanied by the abolition of slavery from every country with any claim to civilization. These are the two salient facts of the century that they have eternally consecrated in the memories of Man, whatever evil may have been perpetrated in these hundred years. Whatever sorrows Humanity may have endured during this period, these two great joys will for ever delight her existence. There has been another great event in this century of more transient importance, which has been neither wholly good nor wholly evil in its consequences—

not in the spiritual but in the temporal sphere—that is the opening up by means of increased facility of communication, of nearly the whole of the globe. The result has been not dissimilar to the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While the future organization of Humanity will be ultimately accelerated by bringing her elements into closer association, the immediate consequence has been hitherto mainly injurious to those whose isolation has ceased or is ceasing, for the West brings forward for their commercial exploitation material facilities and intellectual qualities which are as yet uncontrolled by any adequate moral forces. The Religion of Humanity has arisen at the moment it was most needed to protect her tender offspring from the tyranny as it were of an elder and rapacious brother.

But in the life of an individual it will be observed that for the most part his sorrows are confined to a very brief period of time. It is true that those pains are as poignant as they are transient. So is it with Humanity—which always represents in the Collective Being the conditions of individual existence. Standing here on the threshold of the new century, in spite of the sorrows which we know occurred in the past, in spite of the trouble to come in the future, and in spite of the woe, the toil, the turmoil, the distress, and the gloom of the present, yet in looking back over the past century we are most sane when we consider the blessings it has brought, and in the future when we think of the blessings it will bring.

There is only time to-day for a brief abstract appreciation of the century. The characteristic of the Revolution of the West was, on the one hand, anarchy in and destruction of the *ensemble*, the totality, the whole; on the other, reconstruction of the elements. This process has continued through the century. Apart from the signal fact of the institution of the Religion of Humanity, there has been entire spiritual decay. It is illustrated by three great facts. First, the Pope was excluded from the Holy Alliance which aimed at a spiritual control of the West. Secondly, the Papacy refused to support the religious movement of Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, and its representation was refused at the

Congress of the Hague in 1899 assembled to create a tribunal for arbitration between nations. Its spiritual influence in international relations is no longer treated with respect. At the same time it has been led to a rather extreme use of its doctrinal authority by the proclamations of the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility, which have interest for devout Catholics, but for few beside.

There has also been a transformation in the temporal dictatorships, which have tended to a more and more democratic constitution. France has become purely democratic in character, its real dictator is the Chamber of Deputies, which makes and unmakes Presidents and Ministers almost at its will. Republicanism is on the verge of establishment both in Italy and in Spain, and would probably prevail in the event of any war in which those powers were engaged. England has democratized its institutions. Germany has, as the most backward of the powers of the West, remained most monarchical and aristocratic in form. But the enormous spread of Socialism there shows the prevailing tendency. A natural consequence of this has been throughout the West an increasing demand of Labour for recognition of its claims to consideration. But the Labour party has not yet secured any supremacy, and the rulers—who belong to the capitalist class—are disposed towards a military policy which will divert attention from social questions.

In respect of reconstruction of the elements the intellectual advance has been great. In science cosmology may be said to be complete; in biology great strides have been made; biological deductions have been even pushed too far, as generally happens when a science too greatly possesses the public mind. The Darwinian conclusions have been carried forward into sociology, to which in their rigorous shape they do not apply. Sociology receives increased study, especially in America. In Philosophy Herbert Spencer has completed his Philosophy of Evolution, the main principle of which is that life proceeds from the operation of purely natural causes. It is noticeable that he has adopted for the scheme of his philosophy the hierarchy of the sciences constructed by Auguste Comte,

although he has published his reasons for dissenting from that most marvellous construction of genius. Never in the history of the world has there been a more brilliant artistic effulgence than in this century, whether in poetry or in the special Arts. Yet in none has there as yet arisen any figure quite on a level with the greatest names of the past.

In the practical sphere I have already alluded to the extraordinary industrial improvements, the extended use of machinery, which has almost given the death-blow to craftsman; the application of steam first of all, followed by the even more marvellous applications of electricity. All these are having the effect of making the line between employers and employed more distinct, and bringing the capitalist and the workman into more frequent collision. The capitalist for the present has the upper hand, he controls both the Temporal and the Spiritual powers, Monarchs and Parliaments, the Church and the Press. But the workman is steadily advancing towards the living wage which is his due.

To revert to our original position—the great fact of the century is this that the Religion of Humanity has been instituted. There now exists a coherent doctrine based on science, on the philosophy of science and with a true theory of history, proclaiming morality; public as well as private, as the loftiest aim of man, in subjection to Humanity, and which is able to meet the requirements of the moment, and to anticipate the wants of the future.

II.

The past year has been one of great trouble in the West, and the cause of most of it is English in its origin, though the other powers of Europe are not without their share, negative or positive, in the blame. France has been mainly given over to the excitement arising from the exhibition with which she delighted and enriched the inhabitants of Paris, and amused the idlers of the world. But a great civic feast has testified to the entire solidarity of the country—an encouraging fact of great importance.

England and Germany have entered into close alliance, which the United States views with not unfriendly eyes. It is well to remember that Germany is greatly responsible for the outrageous policy of England in South Africa, and England is responsible for German action in the East; this alliance has brought forward the Chinese question, which promises to be one of the most formidable problems of the coming century. The points which we now have to consider relate to India, South Africa, and to China; all of them illustrate the oppression exercised by the still imperfectly organized West on the less advanced races of mankind.

There are, however, two preliminary considerations which must be offered when treating here on such subjects. It might be thought desirable to deal preferably with what are called "social" topics rather than with wider political questions. It is true that the best methods of attacking the various social evils of the time are by no means foreign to our general purpose, but I would submit that in the first place such questions—for instance, those dealing with temperance, housing of the working classes, thrift, and better police regulations—are secondary only, and the remedies offered for existing evils are merely palliatives of the imperfections. Here it is the custom to dwell, on this particular day, on the widest currents of human thought and action, the direction of which will modify ultimately the minor disturbances. Moreover, the public mind is already fully occupied with social subjects, and attempts are being made to deal with them in accordance with those principles of morality which the aggregate of the past has already deeply rooted in our natures. A second consideration is the necessarily critical character that my remarks must assume. Would that they might be framed otherwise! But it is a necessary part of the Positivist function at all times to pass judgment on affairs and actions. The great political questions which we must necessarily occupy ourselves with here, especially on this High Day, being the most general and also the simplest, require that a judgment should be passed in accordance with the main principles of our nascent faith, which though possibly critical in form, yet should be truly

organic in character, as pointing out in general terms the right methods of ameliorating the greatest evils under which Humanity groans. Our proper topics to-day are the relations with each other of the component parts and forces of the West, and the impact of the West on the other elements of Humanity. Both of these are incidentally treated in the subsequent remarks.

INDIA.

In the clash of arms the woe of the dumb, starving millions of India has hardly been attended to. The plight of India is now such that a casual deficiency of the necessarily fluctuating rainfall deprives millions of their means of subsistence. The deficiency of the rain in 1899 was considerable; the famine of 1900 has never been equalled in intensity or in the width of the area affected by the failure of the crops. Districts which had hitherto been free from such disasters on this occasion felt them most severely. The stock has died for want of fodder, land has gone out of cultivation; what the mortality has been I have never seen stated with any assurance of its accuracy. But we know that at one time six millions were on relief works alone, and it is also a fact that the plague and cholera have lent their aid to the destruction of vast numbers of lives. A long series of famines has reached on this occasion the highest intensity. There is not the least doubt that this is by no means the last of the series, nor is there reason to suppose that it will never be increased in severity.

The causes of famine no longer remain in any doubt. They have been attributed previously to the over-population of the country, which allegation is contradicted by the fact that where famine has been least severe, the population is most dense. It has been said that formerly the devastation of wars left no opportunity for famine to prevail—an explanation contradictory in itself, for famine notoriously attends warfare in invaded countries, and absolutely foreign to the facts, for the Indian theocracy, like all theocracies of the conservative type, was eminently peaceful in its character.

Famine results from the deliberate extraction from India,

in one form or another, of the wealth of the country. It is now ascertained scientifically that from twenty-seven to thirty millions sterling is taken from India yearly in the shape of Home Charges, interest on debt, and on guaranteed public works, without any return *whatever*, and without this depletion being made good in any other way. This process has been going on for years, and continues without cessation, whether war and famine prevail or not, even in this very year of unparalleled disaster. It is easy to see that the consequence must be what has occurred. The revenue is all paid in cash, not in kind. In bad years the people have no food, in good years they have no cash. To buy rupees they must sell their corn, and thus nothing is left to them to meet any time of dearth. Ordinarily the surplus of one year would meet the deficiency of the next, now everything must be sold at once.

Now, no one can, nor wishes to deny that the whole British administration of India, from the Viceroy downwards, devotes the vast energies and zeal of the most zealous and energetic body of officials that the world has ever seen to mitigating such an awful state of things. Few but those who have witnessed their devoted and heroic labours can realize how heroic and devoted they are. But it must be admitted that their labours are as ineffective as they are desperate. No one offers any real remedy for this state of things, nor can think of one.

Three hundred thousand pounds were collected in England from private persons—to meet starvation caused by the yearly depletion of thirty millions. The average income of a native of India is at the most twenty-seven rupees per annum, yet this vast sum I have named is exported to a country where the average income is supposed to be £33 per head. The utmost that has been suggested to relieve such necessity as exists has been a Parliamentary grant. But what amount can be given? Ought the people of this country to assume such a vast burden as alone would be necessary to make good the deficits in Indian finance for the benefit of the official and capitalist classes? A dole alone would be possible, and doles are no good. Something much more radical is needed, and that, in the present state of

opinion, will sound as wild to suggest, as it is impossible to expect, and is the gradual preparation for the evacuation of India by the British; unless indeed a clean sweep is to be made of the existing system, and new methods of administration instituted on entirely different lines, in which the interest of the Indians shall be paramount, and the administration made over to those who are alone entitled to it. The latter course would no doubt involve ultimately evacuation by the British, and therefore it can never be expected until the country has become utterly bankrupt, and its population so reduced by cholera, plague, and famine, that there is nothing more to be got out of the land. It is plain that in this enormous national crime of Indian misrule, probably vaster and more flagrant than anything the world has ever seen, no political person or measure is of the least avail. The only hope can come from awakening the minds of the people of England to the terrible immorality involved in the bleeding of India to death; this can only be done by the extension of religious ideas, and as there is no hope of any of the older religions awakening to a sense of the wrong that they have hitherto countenanced, connived at, and even taken advantage of, in the hope of spreading their creed, it must be effected by the Religion of Humanity, for one of the noblest of her elements is being cruelly oppressed in the sole interest of another race, which, having been even more highly favoured, owes a deep debt of well-doing rather than the wrong she inflicts.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The shame of the mis-government of India is England's alone. It is hardly so in the case of the South African Republic, better known as the Transvaal, and her ally the Orange Free State, the former of which was certainly for long encouraged by Germany in its original opposition to British interests, but has ultimately been deserted by her and the rest of the Western powers, although a considerable portion of the populations appear to be in genuine sympathy with the Boers. Had Europe not connived at the attack by England on the independence of the two Free States, their extinction never

could have occurred. It never would have been possible to send over 200,000 men across six thousand miles of sea and many hundred miles of land, into the interior of a desolate continent, unless with the consent of Europe. Of course the fleet of this country is immensely powerful, but had there been any union of the West in a common design, any united reverence for common right, any determination to repress an assault on the liberties of nations, with one voice it would have forbidden the war. Either its division or its union has prevented this particular protection of two new and feeble elements of Humanity. The two Republics have ceased in consequence to exist, as apparently from the outset was the determination of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner.

Although in this place we must consider that an appalling crime has been committed, for even were there justification for the war, there is none for the annexation of the Republics, yet I do not think that it would be right to entirely exonerate the President of the Transvaal, in spite of the provocation he received. His narrow and exclusive policy invited attack. And there is very little doubt that for long President Kruger had adopted a course of action that could only lead to war, in which, relying on European animosities, he hoped for European support. For this reason he refrained from making in time reasonable concessions. Further, it must be conceded that by his *ultimatum* to England, couched in hitherto unparalleled language, he made it almost impossible, in the present state of public morals, for England to recede one inch from the demands she had indeed advanced unjustly. Moreover, by the precipitate invasion of British territory, President Kruger forfeited all the immense *moral* advantages of his position, left no loophole for intervention before the war broke out, and alienated for a time at least the sympathies of the leaders of the Cape Colony (who might have been most useful supporters of his cause where just), in the hope of gaining an immediate military success, and perhaps the possession of the seaport of Durban, which however would have been useless to him while the British held the sea. Speaking here impartially, as I hope, it must be admitted that the attitude

both of the Colonial Secretary and of the President towards each other were such as in moments may almost cause despair to those who aim at the Peace of Humanity.

Next, it ought not to be supposed that here we are unmindful of the heroism of our own sons in the extraordinary labours of the campaign of fourteen months. As a military feat the conveyance of so vast a body of men such a distance is unequalled. The spirit of our people in voluntarily meeting the deficiencies of military organisation was admirable, and deserved to be used in a better cause. And though the war has been attended by most deplorable events, the burning of farms and crops, the unhousing of women and children, yet it must not be forgotten that an army has to obey orders, and that war from beginning to end is horrible, and this one, despite the errors of our adversaries, is a great crime on the part of England that provoked it, by whom it has been conducted with unusual folly and wickedness.

If, as some, perhaps prematurely, declare, the war is now over, its melancholy consequences have only begun. The first is, even should England be successful, the maintenance in South Africa of an immense body of men, probably vastly larger than ever originally contemplated, to keep order in the conquered States. This circumstance will probably involve the entire reorganization of the British Army on entirely new lines. The early Christian, whose religion was based on personal morality held aloof from all politics. But Positivism extends morality to the public sphere, and inculcates political principles as guides to conduct. No Positivist is therefore without a citizen's interest in the character of military administration and organization whether for defensive or offensive purposes. No Positivist but is bound as a citizen to help so far as possible, while refraining, for the present, from taking a direct part in parliamentary life, to ensure that public money is employed for the public benefit and not wasted on court favourites, sinecurists, and on military shams, called reserves, or militia, or volunteers. Every Positivist is bound to urge the limitation of such reorganization as is needed to the essential requirements for the defence of his country. It is to

be feared that in this last direction the military party are disposed to carry their schemes far beyond such moderate limits, aiming at a system suited rather for offensive than defensive purposes.

Another consequence is the certain alienation of the Cape Colony in consequence of the mode of treatment of the conquered states, and the ignoble character of our warfare. Those who knew South Africa vainly endeavoured to make it generally understood before the war that *all* South Africa would have to be fought, as it was homogeneous in feeling—Dutch to the core. For a time the Cape Colony, being evidently only in partial sympathy with President Kruger's policy, refrained from active interference on his behalf. But the memory of the faults which hampered the Cape has been washed away in the blood of the heroic peasantry—the “Helvetia of the South”—who have fought so gallantly for their freedom against foes apparently four times as numerous. The Cape Colony will not tolerate the wrong of the annexation of these two states unless it *must*, and it will never forget or forgive the injury to its brethren. The political rights of the Uitlanders, for which the war was nominally begun, will never for long years be granted, and it seems probable that an attempt will be made to deprive the Cape Colony of its own. The hypocrisy of it all is flagrant.

No settlement can be good which is not voluntarily accepted by the people of the country, who are still fighting for the preservation of the *status quo ante bellum*. That the war ought never to have begun, and that it ought to be brought to a speedy end, law and order being re-introduced into the land, that is all one can say. No other political remedy can be suggested or recommended from here—only a *religious* one. We urge the paramount claims of Humanity. We see her weeping eyes, we watch her bleeding wounds, we view her sons lying low in death, the fires blazing over the plains, the fleeing women and their starving babes, and we invoke for their aid not any political device, but we cry for Justice, for Mercy, for Pity, and for Love—we invoke the resources of the true Religion. In doing so we have to appeal to the whole West

which has tolerated this wrong, whose priests have sanctioned it and preached and prayed for it. On the Continent there are a vast number who need no conversion on the point, the hearts of the populations of Europe beat in unison with the poor peasantry of South Africa, and so do all those of all oppressed populations. In England it is otherwise. Never was there a more popular war, and never before was Murder better dressed up in the robes of a tawdry Patriotism.

The fact of the participation of the British colonies in this transaction, whose hired troops are said to have shown in its conduct a worse brutality even than our own, is a full justification of all the prophetic utterances which, for a quarter of a century, have been delivered from this spot as to the dangers to mankind which would ensue from the realization of the Imperial idea. It has many times been pointed out that the hardly natural union of communities so remote and so different portended no good for Humanity. And when Canada, Australia, and New Zealand sent contingents to support England in her war, those prognostications were fulfilled. But the evil extends further still. A few weeks ago a perfectly peaceful assemblage of the Dutch of the Cape Colony met at Worcester, not very far from Cape Town, to protest against the barbarous mode of conducting hostilities. And it appears that the hills surrounding the place where these farmers were collected were occupied by fifteen hundred Canadian and Australian troops, armed with Maxims to overawe the meeting in the exercise of the undoubted political right of speech and protest, enjoyed by British subjects, in their own self-governing country. To this pass have things come in a country ruled by an official fresh from the despotism of Cairo, and policed by mercenary armies from the North of America and from the Southern seas.

There is no doubt that this fatal conduct is opposed to true patriotism. But it is in harmony with Imperialism, which may be called the hypertrophy of patriotic sentiment. The people being without true religious convictions, excited by a false political ideal, destitute of any true historical theory, intoxicated with the wealth and successes of the last two

centuries, surfeited with national and personal egoisms, seek satisfaction from the fulfilment of a hundred ambitious dreams, and neglect the purer and more fruitful joys which will flow from Attachment, Veneration and Benevolence, and a genuine love of their country.

It is impossible not to connect in our thoughts this false sentiment which interposes the Empire between the Country and Humanity with the capitalism which accompanies its manifestation. Some view this war as a capitalist war. It can hardly be doubted that, if successful, it *will* tend to the benefit of capitalists, who, in consequence of the present perversion of money, one of the most useful institutions of Humanity, see their way to the appropriation of enormous wealth, not only from the gold itself, but from the formation of financial combinations, from the forced labour of the Kaffirs of South Africa, and the reduction of the value of white men's wages. The Glen Grey Act, already in force in some parts of the Cape Colony, is nothing but a disguised system of slavery, and is intended to keep down the wages of labour, while forcing the black man to work for his white master. Imperialism without capitalism would soon die down.

Here again one must ask oneself, in what possible way these false ideas can be checked? In the case of Imperialism simply by suppression of the term and by substituting the idea of Humanity; in the case of capitalism by bringing about a state of things in which the respective claims of capital and labour may be adjusted, now so terribly distorted in the interests of the wealthy class. It is religion and the Religion of Humanity that alone can effect the change. Recognition of this is all the more important, because behind the Dutch and English question, which will be settled comparatively soon in one way or another, lies the white and black question in South Africa, which will yearly loom more ominously before us, the best mode of solution of which should already begin to occupy our minds.

CHINA.

It is necessary now to advert to the concerted action of Europe against China, which has occurred in the past year,

and in which this country has taken an important but not an exclusive part. Provoked by a succession of aggressions from the West, commercial, territorial, political, and theological, the Chinese have at length made an attempt to organise national resistance, which is known as the Boxer movement. The deliberate policy of the Chinese Government was formerly one of *peace*. Merely passive resistance to aggression was their one method—a very useful policy until it has been overborne by superior strength or energy, as has been the case during the last few years. Every theocracy is better adapted for peace than for war, and this method accordingly was in harmony with the Chinese political constitution, in which the literary class prevailed under the nominal presidency of a ruler, military in theory, but actually of theocratic character. The internal government devolved on Viceroy, who had a large measure of independence. At first the Western powers in any case of dispute dealt with these direct, comparatively neglecting the Central power; this brought about confusion. Later on they learned to deal with the Central power, but as that authority was limited by the strong opposition of the people, no less than of the Viceroy, from this quarter also Western influence found a passive resistance. During the last few years there have been dissensions in the palace, and much under the influence of events in the West, and of the advice of persons interested in the importation of arms and ammunition, a volunteer movement has been created in defence of Chinese institutions, spiritual, temporal, intellectual and industrial, and to resist further territorial spoliation.

The Western powers all are seeking an increased share in the profitable Chinese trade, and they are rivals in their efforts. Though they would willingly exclude each other if they could, yet the similarity of their desires presses them into a certain amount of agreement, and they are all viewed with equal dislike by the Chinese. All agree in determining to bring pressure to bear on the Government to fulfil their wishes, and it is plain that in the opinion of the West if the "open door" treatment is not permitted partition must be attempted. Now, as to the latter method, the protest cannot be too emphatically made

against anything of the sort. Conquest is the present chief sorrow of Humanity, whether in Ireland, Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, South Africa, India, or China, and the faintest action tending to extend it must be strongly denounced, not as a "merely seeming genial-venial fault," but as the worst crime that one nation can commit upon another.

As to the "open door" policy that must be left to the Governments to settle in conjunction with the Chinese Government. But above all things neither force nor fraud must be used, nor anything done to further weaken the authority of the central Chinese Government. For a moment there appears to be a tendency to desist from further aggression. England and Germany, two of the prime offenders, have formed a self-denying agreement binding themselves to refrain from such unless driven to do otherwise by other aggressions. So far so good; but why insist on the condemnation of officials and others without due trial and conviction and in a purely *ex parte* manner, or on the performance of humiliating ceremonies? Why should China not be permitted to exercise the right of excluding Christian missionaries, the notorious disturbers of the public peace? Why should such persons who penetrate to places where they are not wanted, in order to preach unacceptable and obsolete theological doctrines, be allowed to look for any special protection from military sources? The reasons are that Imperialism and Capitalism know no limit to their ambition, and will curry the favour of any spiritual or temporal power which will support their inordinate demands. Moreover, that ignorance, indifference and want of sympathy stimulate an undeserved contempt for the intellectual and moral condition of the Chinese.

As to the policy to be adopted in the Chinese crisis, I may say that in this, as in other matters, it seems hardly our duty here to do more than lay down general principles for action which practical politicians ought to put in force in the best way that they can. The injunctions of those who, however imperfectly, represent the spiritual forces of Humanity, like the utterances of the Jewish Lawgiver, will mainly be couched in the negative form, the theoreticians will point out what should be

avoided, the practitioners will on that basis consider what shall be done. Still, it may be remarked that it would appear that the Russian recommendation to retire altogether from Peking was a very wise one. Many complications would have been thereby avoided, and that all the powers should have simultaneously left the country would have been the best way to enable the Chinese Government to reassert its legitimate authority unaffected by the intrigues resulting from the rivalries of the West, and to become more respected internally from the absence of too obvious pressure from the outside. As regards any indemnity proposed to be paid, it should amount to no more than compensation for actual and direct damage done, which could be easily ascertained, and should have no appearance of a punitive character. The vastly greater damage done by European troops would greatly out-balance that effected by the Chinese. There is no case for "exemplary damages," to enforce which would require occupation of territory and ports, control of customs, and perhaps of other sources of taxation; all such penalties would tend to impair the independence of China, and to create a starting point for further interference and aggression, which no doubt would be the secret reason for insisting on guarantees for an indemnity. In fine, the Western powers should adopt such measures only as will not force the vast Chinese population into immediate or ulterior action, which will probably become the cause of future struggles and disasters, the like of which the world has only seen when Mongolian hordes have previously advanced on Europe. A resolute population of hundreds of millions combined for active instead of passive resistance, would involve a danger to European institutions which should be warded off by legitimate methods while there is yet time. To bring about this result the concerted action of Europe must be defensive rather than aggressive, peaceful not provocative; the Anglo-German agreement, which all the powers appear to have approved, seems to bear some traces of such a disposition, which may be welcomed as a proof of the growth of more reasonable views. Surely the new Spiritual power may remind even an infuriated and greedy Europe of the retribution that has already been inflicted

for this popular rising in the water-massacre of Blagovistchenk, in the slaughters in Peking, in the damage of all sorts effected by the European troops, and urge that more than enough has been done in the way of revenge to satisfy the West and to punish the Far East.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

The disclosure of the now general corruption of the Press, and of the financial interests of the family of a prominent politician in the war for which he was mainly responsible, were hardly needed to convince men of the rottenness of the former institution and the immorality prevailing in Parliamentary life. I notice these merely as a symptom of the prevailing anarchy; on the other hand the new division of parties consequent on the general election is a more welcome sign. It is not confined to England: Conservatives and Liberals are blending with each other everywhere. In England they both support Imperialism and Capitalism. To them are opposed the Nationalists and the Representatives of Labour. This new classification is a spontaneous anticipation of the ultimate state when political parties will be confined to those of Capital and Labour, of employers and employed; the chief function of the Priesthood of Humanity being to reconcile their differences. The enormous strides which capitalism has lately made is bringing about almost sooner than expected a natural reaction in the other direction.

The struggle between capital and labour, which is now endemic, has in Wales lately assumed an acute form, but it can hardly be said to have been a prevailing note in the transactions of the year. On the contrary, the immense expenditure of the year and the employment abroad of so many men, have promoted trade and have had the effect of raising wages, preparatory to the inevitable reaction when the war comes to an end. The anger which the masses would have felt at the neglect of the promises of the Government in England, to bring about social reforms has been thus averted for the moment. And meanwhile the tendency to the concentration of

capital in vast "corners" and "rings," which will one day bring about the downfall of the capitalist system, actively continues, especially in the United States. Any respite in the industrial war is welcome, and gives an opportunity for the spread of our Positivist doctrine, the supremacy of which will afford to the working classes, by a spontaneous and peaceful distribution, all that personal independence, all that share in the value of products that their labour alone creates, to which they are entitled, or which they need for the fulfilment of every legitimate physical, intellectual and moral satisfaction—all their material and spiritual wants. The socialist leaders it is true still view with impatience the Positivist position that the improved relations of capitalists and workmen depend on the moralization of the former class, which they consider an impossibility, as it is, indeed, if we only look to the immediate future. They do not yet see that the violent measures they still have faith in will only be an expression of a similar egoism in the workers to that they condemn in the employers, and will provoke opposition, reaction and reprisals. In their hatred of the past, and their natural loathing of much that makes the present almost unendurable, they have not yet realised that on the spread of the Religion of Humanity depends the complete fulfilment of their most cherished desires.

III.

On this, Humanity's high festival, it was necessary to review the more prominent elements of her being, and to point out the sorrows she endures. To-day we are in more than usual sympathy with other nations, races and creeds, and the points which have been touched upon affect the whole world. But though such a political sketch is necessary, I shall have failed in my purpose if I leave it to be thought that there is the faintest idea lurking in my mind that political remedies alone can do aught but palliate the evils which exist. Those evils are rooted in the worse portion of man's

nature; they can only be eradicated by the development of the good. Only by the arising in our mind of the idea of Humanity, and by the spread of Her Religion, are the ills under which she labours to be removed. There is, indeed, much hope of such a result; the prospect is not without encouragement. If Europe is at this moment ringing with scorn of English egoism, and with the glory of the brave peasantry whose bodies and whose freedom we may destroy, but whose spirit lives eternally in the minds of the free and the brave, it is because the European nations possess some portion of this religious spirit. In all quarters it appears spontaneously. In some it is systematically preached.

It is not, therefore, inappropriate on this occasion, bearing in mind what are the attributes of her Being, what is her Past and what her Future will be, to consider in what her Service truly consists. *It lies in loving her with all our hearts, with all our minds and with all our strength.* The Catholic religion appears to have carried *personal, individual* religion to the highest pitch that is possible for man. This was done years ago, and still priests and preachers urge this limited religious attitude on a not wholly obedient world. They have failed because they have not gone far enough. They have not preached the duty of public morality. But *we* must not consider their efforts to be all in vain, we must appropriate them all so far as they go. There is not a single feeling, thought, or action, truly appropriate to the highest principles of the older faith, which may not be applied *in suitable time, place, or occasion*, in honour of the Humanity we serve. He has not the true spirit of our Religion in him who allows his *ideal* of worship in a far wider field to fall below that which the highest saints of the past have formed in a more limited sphere, though the actual practice must be regulated according to circumstances. We ought to be jealous of allowing any suspicion to attach to us, that we deem less honour due to Humanity than was done to any of her provisional representatives.

With a softened heart we must proceed to understand her position and her powers, her needs and even her limitations. We must study her life, both its essential conditions and its

necessary modifications in time and circumstances; study the earth on which she dwells, and the holiness of conduct which she inculcates.

Inspired with this love, guided by this knowledge, we must devote ourselves to her true and loyal service, ever striving onwards to a noble goal, the regeneration of our own natures, the development of her Being; ever endeavouring to make the Present to thoroughly accord with the Future that we know shall be.

I will not pretend that this is any easy task; but it is the only right and proper one. And, in a measure, it may be achieved, despite of any failure in our own confidence, of any cynical opposition of the world, any indifference, or ridicule, or persecution. There are very few people who have not the elements of such goodness within their reach. Within their own homes they may find the source of every virtue. There all the forms of holy love may flourish, in its closest and more diffused shapes. Every evil instinct may be there restrained, whether Greed, or Lust, or Anger, or Avarice, or Pride, or Vanity—and Attachment, Veneration, and Universal Love can take their rise from thence.

Animated by such influences brought home to us in daily association and in daily worship, we can proceed while commemorating the whole past, and expressing constant gratitude for the favours we have received, to form a true image of the Being who has ever protected us. We may then rise from the life of purely personal morality, and carry our efforts for moral improvement into wider fields, feeling ourselves sharers in the collective life of the country, and as aiming at an eternal existence in the one great Being of Humanity, becoming participators in her bliss through having borne a portion of the burden of her sorrow.

And it is ever to be remembered that the great majority of human beings are only suited to a life of *action*. Few have leisure and opportunity to know the grounds of the opinions they hold or to analyze the character even of the Being they adore. Convictions are come at in various ways, through the influence of the heart as much as through the intellect:

there is one duty common to all persons, and that is of proclaiming in one way or another, *through their actions*, the value of the Faith they hold, so as to convince others of its power to combat all that is evil and retrograde. No one is ever ultimately judged by his opinions merely, but by the character of his whole life and conduct. It is by making our private actions to conform with the doctrines of our faith that we shall best fulfil the duty of its propagation, and gradually modify for good the future of mankind. All else is subordinate to this: individual progress is the first field we must enter. In this we shall be greatly assisted by the extreme simplicity of our doctrine, which is open to the understanding of any intelligence, provided it only be sane and honest; when once the doctrine is clearly put forward and the mind, disciplined by Veneration, has also been freed from prejudice and bias. The supremacy of Morals in the domain of man will be denied by no good person. It is but a step forward from that position to a recognition of the supremacy of Humanity. And that is of the essence of our doctrine. Thus our own endeavours are facilitated by the simplicity of our creed, and the beauty and the reality of the conception of Humanity lend equal assistance.

It is always desirable to explain anything by the widest generalization which will embrace the whole facts, and as it has been urged that the Holiness which we attribute here to Humanity is an exaggeration of the goodness of human nature, we may I think ask ourselves whether such a criticism is just. At different periods of our lives we are animated by different sentiments. To consider only the worthy ones, we can remember how desire of knowledge, power and love seem our preponderant motives at different times. There is a whole school of Philosophy which makes the search for Happiness the ultimate motive of Human Conduct, even of a virtuous kind. I will not deny that Happiness is largely a motive, but I think it is more true that the ultimate motive of every truly good human being, and a strong motive in at least some of the actions of *almost every human being* good or bad, is a desire, often irregular and ineffective, for Holiness. What else can explain the inconsistencies which are observed in conduct,

when some one will alternate actions of surprising meanness with others of extraordinary generosity, self-sacrifice, and heroism? We frequently see in people not ordinarily supremely virtuous, of all sexes, classes, ages, all thought of personal Happiness, present or prospective, entirely flung aside in favour of action which, if performed by a person of admitted sanctity, we should not hesitate to call holy. Just as in the summer months when the wind blows through thick-set hedges and oak trees we seem to hear the chiming of distant and melodious bells, just as in the pine woods though the air seem calm we hearken to a deep and a solemn music, and as in the rivulet we catch the cadence of its treble notes, so through all the multifarious actions of men's existence, individual or collective, we may, if we observe carefully, catch the note of Holiness. There may be a difficulty in exactly fixing its character, it may occasionally be silent, it may seem to change its position or its intensity, its timbre or its volume, but if it dies it rises again, it is almost constantly to be heard. Such is the true music of Humanity, sometimes resounding like a pæan, sometimes sad and wailing, sometimes fitful, quavering and irresolute. It is the aim of our Religion to catch all these melodies, to combine in one grand theme all the Holiness of Humanity, to ignore or to eliminate all that is harsh and discordant, and mars the perfection of its all-dominating tones.

It is all the more necessary to lay stress upon this dominant note in Humanity, because the surface facts of life greatly conceal it from us. If we only look superficially on the various movements of the time, we hardly perceive the real direction of the main current, and the predominance of merely partial views creates a tendency in us to interest ourselves exclusively in matters of only temporary or personal importance, in which tendency we are encouraged by our egoism and our interests. Thus, while keeping our intelligence awake to the character of the movements of the day, it is essential for us to remember that our own individual direct participation in them must be of a subaltern character. It is plain that as each question assumes a prominent position in accordance with its suitability for solu-

tion, there will arise a number of people capable and desirous of properly carrying out the detailed action necessary for the moment. So we may limit ourselves ordinarily to stimulating and encouraging that action without sacrificing in any degree the generality of our own views, or seeking to play any important part in matters of purely temporary importance. In this way we keep ourselves clear of the faintest taint of self-interest, and are able to devote our whole efforts to the putting forward those highest moral principles, in the ultimate acceptance of which we firmly believe, and whose possession secures even to our limited numbers the direction of mankind. Our procedure must therefore be one of reserve and self-abnegation. Just as in the case of the lowest personal instincts, we may indulge them only so far as they conduce to the public good, so also in the higher though still personal propensities. We must leave to others the prominence and importance which arise from taking an active part in the necessary progress of destruction; we must hold aloof from all the satisfactions which we might derive from the pursuit of wealth. This pleasure we must leave to the capitalists, for we can see from their example how such action as theirs would degrade ourselves and our movement. Also, we must aim at no political power. If we do we shall find ourselves immersed in a whirlpool of details which can only destroy our independence and our insight. And finally in respect of our action on public opinion, even there we must ordinarily confine our efforts to influencing those few beings who can understand our position, and can carry into practice the principles we propound. Such it appears to me are the principles of Positivist action, which have always been preached here, and which are best calculated to lessen the sorrows of Humanity. The effect of such self-denial will be felt first in our own lives, and next on the lives of all those with whom we come into contact or can influence, so as to bring about the ultimate reign of Humanity, after her long sad sufferings.

O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son!
 Created beings all in lowliness
 Surpassing, as in height above them all;
 Term by the eternal council pre-ordained;
 Ennobler of thy nature, so advanced
 In thee, that its great maker did not scorn
 To make himself his own creation;
 For in thy womb rekindling shone the love
 Reveal'd, whose genial influence makes now
 This flower to germin in eternal peace:
 Here thou to us, of charity and love,
 Art as the noon-day torch: and art, beneath,
 To mortal men of hope a living spring.
 So mighty art thou, lady, and so great,
 That he who grace desireth, and comes not
 To thee for aidance, fain would have desire
 Fly without wings. Not only him who asks
 Thy bounty succours, but doth freely oft
 Forerun the asking. Whatsoe'er may be
 Of excellence in creature—pity mild,
 Relenting mercy, large munificence—
 Are all combined in thee.

Dante: Par. xxxiii.

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(9) " " condensed.

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(14) List of Maxims.

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